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DIRECTORATE FOR INTELLIGENCE

	MEMORANDUM FOR:	William Kirby Deputy Assistant Secretary for Middle East Negotiations, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs	
	FROM:	Chief, Geography Division	25 X 1
	SUBJECT:	Israeli West Bank Settlement Activity Under the National Unity Government	
	populating of se National Unity g	ed is a typescript concerning the construction and ettlements in the West Bank under Israel's overnment. earch and analysis were done by Branch, Geography Division, Office of Global	25X1 25X1
25 X 1	3. If you please call me	have any questions concerning this memorandum,	
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	<u> </u>	t Bank: Israeli Settlement Activity Under the National Unity Government. M 85-10203	25X1 25X1
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SUBJECT: West Bank: Israeli Settlement Activity Under the 25X1 National Unity Government OGI/GD/NE (August 1985) Distribution: Orig - William A. Kirby, State 1 - David Mack, State 1 - Philip C. Wilcox, State
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Central Intelligence Agency



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DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

August 1985	
Summary	
construction in existing West Bank settlements is proceeding at a much slower pace under the Israeli National Unity government than in previous years. Along with the slowdown in new housing starts is a marked decrease in the number of new settlements started—only one since September 1984. In contrast, more than 8,600 people have arrived in the settlements since September; most moving into recently completed units in a small number of urban settlements. Despite this increase in population, settlers are disappointed with the scaled-down pace of construction and with perceived settlement inactivity on the part of the government,	25X1
and, as a result, continue to threaten establishment of unauthorized settlements.	25X1
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New	Construction	n

Although economic austerity measures have slowed the pace of settlement construction well below that of the 1982-83 boom years, housing construction within existing West Bank settlements has continued under the National Unity government.

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- ° 1,482 housing units have been started, of which 591 have been completed. This compares with 5,116 units started between September 1982 and September 1984, of which 3,995 were completed.
- Population capacity in the West Bank settlements increased by more than 7,000 people to 63,660.
- ° 93 additional nonresidential buildings have been started, including four schools, seven industrial buildings, five cattle sheds, and a synagogue.
- ° Five settlement sites, unimproved except for initial grading prior to September, have seen active building construction.

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New housing construction has not been uniformally distributed throughout the territory. On the whole, the settlements of western Samaria that are being constructed by private developers generally are weathering Israel's present economic woes best. For example, despite court cases regarding disputed land ownership, and conflicts between the developing company and the orthodox settlers, more than 290 housing units have been started in 'Immanu'el since September 1984. (There are exceptions--construction at nearby Nofim has been at a near standstill because of the developer's financial problems.) than 60 percent of new housing starts occurred in five settlements of Western Samaria. Elsewhere in the West Bank, there is less new construction. In the financially strapped agricultural settlements of the Jordan Valley, only 89 housing units were started; similarly, only 24 units were started in the 'Ezyon bloc, all of which were in Efratah.

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¹ This study does not include the 67 square kilometers of West Bank territory unilaterally annexed by Israel to Jerusalem.	25X1
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In addition to constructing new units, settlers increasingly are converting their smaller, more temporary dwellings (mobile homes, double prefab units) into more permanent quarters. At least 106 units—many in the smaller, more remote settlements—have begun this transformation since last September. Adding a second story, additional rooms, siding, and tile roof to an existing prefab structure is an economical way of creating a roomier, more attractive house. Not coincidentally, this practice creates a more solid "fact on the landscape" should any future territorial compromise suggest settlement dismantlement.

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<u>Population</u>

As of 20 July 1985, approximately 40,670 settlers resided in the West Bank (see table). Some 8,670 of these settlers have arrived since September 1984. Of the new settlers, 71 percent moved into recently readied units in the five large urban settlements of Alfe Menashe, Ari'el, Giv'at Ze'ev, 'Immanu'el, and Ma'ale Adummim, all located within easy commuting distance of Jerusalem or Tel Aviv. We estimate that, excluding Ma'ale Adummim, less than 10 percent of new arrivals settled in the 47 settlements lying east of the central Janin-Jerusalem ridge road and north of the Jerusalem-Jericho highway.

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Population growth since September 1984 has been greater than it was during each of the two previous years. This growth directly resulted from the large number of living units that were begun during the construction boom of 1982-83, and that were recently made available for occupation (figure 1). If present trends continue, however, high population growth is unlikely to continue, as the effects of today's slowdown in construction are felt on the number of new arrivals one and two years hence.

New Settlements and Settler Reaction

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Of the 169 Jewish settlements 4 on the West Bank (figure 2) only one has been established 5 since September 1984. This

Part of the increase i revision of 510 people	n this figure is a	result of an upward
population estimate.	Total baptamber	1904 Ma ale Adummim

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⁴This number includes nine sites of other civilian land use. Of the 160 residential settlements, ll are graded sites with, as yet, no buildings, and an additional ll remain unpopulated.

⁵We count a settlement as established once visible site preparation has commenced. Israeli authorities, however, use the term loosely, often considering a settlement as established once its civilian population has moved into quasipermanent quarters.

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compares with 29 set up in 1982-83 and 16 in 1983-84. If no others are established by September 1985, the annual number will be the lowest since 1974.

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A clause in the coalition agreement of September 1984 provided for the establishment of five to six new settlements within the year. The status of these six settlements, listed by the government in January 1985, is as follows:

- Asa'el is a small settlement of about 10 people residing in seven mobile homes south of Hebron. As yet, Asa'el is the only settlement established entirely under the National Unity government.
- Avne Hefez will be a community settlement constructed southeast of Tulkarm. No grading or site preparation has occurred here yet.
- Pelas is a Nahal settlement established in 1981 on the ridge overlooking the Jordan Valley in 1981. No additional work has occurred here since September 1984.
- Ne'ot Adummim, southeast of Jerusalem, was established without government approval shortly before the national elections last July. Presently, the settlement is contested by two groups: one right-wing, and the other practitioners of transcendental meditation (TM). The settlers survived the winter in tents, living without electricity, plumbing or a local water source. The only improvements introduced this spring were 14 mobile homes and a dirt road.
- Migdalim, southeast of Nablus, is another Nahal settlement, established in 1983. Because of its distance from Jerusalem, the Ne'ot Adummin TM group turned down this site. Instead, another TM group from inside Israel reportedly will move into Migdalim in August. These people likely will receive a hostile reception from Gush Emunim neighbors, who consider TM practitioners idolators.
- The sixth settlement is to be Zoref or Betar. Zoref is a Nahal settlement established in late 1982. No additional

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work has occurred here since its founding. Site preparation at Betar began around August 1984, although no dwellings were introduced until May 1985 when disgruntled settlers unilaterally set up their tents here. Mobile homes and prefabs were later introduced during the summer.

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The government's track record--one new settlement, authorized improvements in another, unauthorized improvements in the third, and no improvements in the rest--does not meet with the approval of the settlers. Israeli press reports claim that, as of early July, Likud Knesset members still were scrambling to find funding for the six settlements. The Israeli Agriculture Minister announced that even when the settlements are established, only the infrastructures will be set up. Some Labor Knesset members and Jewish Agency officials believe no money should be spent on the new settlements. Rather, they feel that the limited funds available should be applied to existing settlements, especially considering the reported \$80 million debt these settlements have accrued. Even some Gush Emunim officials are beginning to stress strengthening existing settlements instead of starting new ones.

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Officials of the Council of Jewish Settlements in Judaea and Samaria claim that if the six are not set up by September, then the settlers will do the job unilaterally, as they did at Betar. The government has successfully thwarted such settler actions as the expansion of the Tel Rumeda settlement in Hebron, and the April 1985 attempt to establish an unauthorized settlement north of Ram Allah. Further attempts to set up unapproved settlements are likely, however, especially if existing feelers for negotiations on exchanging peace for territory prove more substantial.

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Israeli Settlements on the West Bank, July 1985

Settlements and			New Units		
	r Civilian			Since Septe	
	Use (Typea)	Population	Capacity	Completed	Still Under
			capacity	completed	Construction
	Total	40,670	63,660	<u>591</u>	891
1.	Abbir Ya'aqov	15	35	7	0
2.	Adam	55	85	Ó	0
3.	Adnim	0	0	Ŏ	0
4.	Adora (N)	35	50	2	0
5.	Adorah	40	105	0	Ö
6.	Alfe Menashe (U)	1,450	1,785	0	45
7.	Allon Shevut (RC)	1,325	1,355	0	0
8.	Almog (K)	105	195	0	0
9.	Almon (C)	85	115	2	12
10.	Argaman (M)	130	225	0	0
11. 12.	Ari'el (U)	2,185	4,575	117	266
	Ari'el Industrial Site (I)	0	0	0	0
13.	Asa'el	110	200	0	0
14.	'Ateret (C)	10	30	9	0
15.	'Ayn Fashkhah (RS)	0	0	0	0
16.	Barqan (C)	230	250	0	0
17.	Beqa'ot (M)	180	225	0	Ö
18.	Berakha (C)	110	125	0	Ö
19.	Betar	40	75	18	0
20.	Bet Arye (C)	255	645	12	3
21.	Bet El (C)	585	825	0	3 1
22.	Bet El B (U)	485	515	6	0
23. 24.	Bet Ha'Arava	30	45	0	0
25.	Bet Horon (C)	170	190	0	0
26.	Bet Horon B (C)	35	110	0	0
27.	Bet Yattir (M)	110	155	0	0
28.	Brosh (N)	40	40	0	0
29.	Canada Park (RS) Dani'el	0	0	0	0
30.	Dolev	90	115	0	0
31.		70	135	0	0
32.	Efratah (U) El'azar (MS)	775	1,085	19	5
33.	El David (C)	145	250	0	0
34.	Eli	95	125	0	0
35.	Elisha' (N)	45	105	0	0
36.	Elon More (C)	20	45	0	0
37.	Elgana (U)	355	750 545	0	0
38.	Elqana C (C)	525	545	0	0
50.	urdana c (C)	0	35	0	0

aC-Community settlement, I-Industrial site, K-Kibbutz, M-Moshav, MS-Moshav shitufi, N-Nahal settlement, RC-Regional Center, RS-Recreational site, U-Urban settlement, Y-Yeshiva.

Other	lements and Civilian			New Uni Since Septe	
Land	Use (Type ^a)	Population	Capacity	Completed	Construction
39. 40.	Elqana D (C) 'Enav (C)	330 150	795 200	3 0	2
41. 42.	Eshkolot (N) Gane Modi'in (C)	25 0	35 0	3 0	0 7
43.	Gannim Geva'ot (N)	95 10	140 20	0 0	0 0
45. 46.	Gilgal (K) Ginnat (N)	290 35	490 45	15 0	0 0
47. 48. 49.	<pre>Ginnot Shomeron (C Gittit (M) Giv'at Harsina (U)</pre>) 125 120 130	1,370 215 365	16 0 10	83 0
50. 51. 52.	Giv'at Ze'ev (U) Giv'on (U)	1,045 250	3,325 365	12 0	5 2 0
53. 54.	Giv'on Hadassa (C) Haggai Hagiv'at Hamerkazi:	165 30	280 60	2 7	0 0
55. 56.	Hallamish (C) Hamra (M)	z 0 405 245	255 565	53 0	3 0
57. 58.	Har Gilo (U) Hebron Jewish	225 200	300 480 200	0 0 0	0 0 0
	Quarter (and adja occupied building	acent	200	v	U
59. 60.	Hermesh Hinnanit (C)	65 105	120 170	0 0	0 0
61. 62.	Homesh (C) 'Immanu'el (U)	135 2,330	210 4,915	0 47	0 245
63. 64.	'Irit (N) Jordan Valley	25 0	25 0	0	0
65.	Monument (RS) Jordan Valley Regional Council Offices	40	55	6	0
66.	Jordan Valley Service Center	0	0	0	0
67. 68.	Karmel (MS) Kefar Adummim (C)	70 225	155 370	0 0	0
69. 70.	Kefar 'Ezyon (K) Kefar Rut (M)	320 120	320 170	0	1 0
71. 72.	Kefar Tappuah (C) Kokhav HaShahar (C)	140 175	165 250	0 0	0 12 11
73. 74. 75.	Lido Yehuda (I/RS) Ma'ale Adummim (U) Ma'ale 'Amos (C)	0 8,090	0 10,145	0 34	0 48
76. 77.	Ma'ale Efrayim (U) Ma'ale Hever (C)	185 1,215 60	275 1,315	0 0	0 0
78. 79.	Ma'ale Levona Ma'ale Shomeron (C)	45 200	95 105 315	0	0
80.	Makabim	0	0	0 0	1 0

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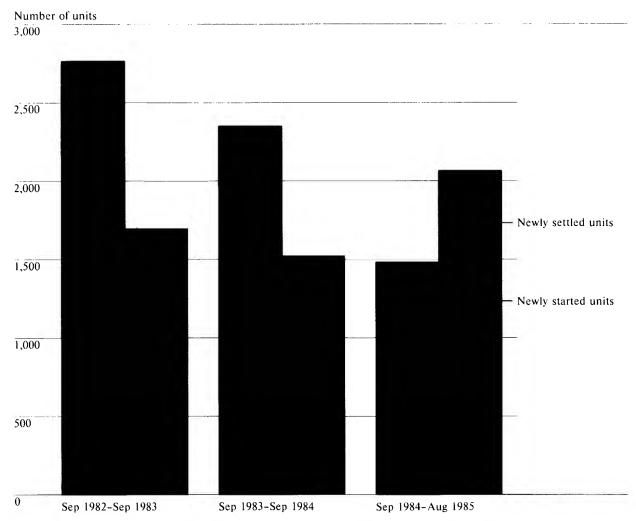
Othe:	lements and r Civilian Use (Type ^a)	Population	Canacitu	New Ur Since Septe	ember 1984 Still Under
	1	opulation	Capacity	Completed	Construction
81.	Manoah (N)	15	40	0	_
82.	Ma'on (MS)	40	105	0	0
83.	Massu'a (M)	140	220	7	1
84.	Matkhan Tappuah (N)	20	20	0	0
85.	Mattityahu (MS)	115	150	0	0
86.	Mehola (M)	225	340	0	0
87.	Mekhora (M)	190	250	0	0
88.	Menora	0	0	0	0
89.	Mevo Dotan (C)	125	210	0	0
90.	Mevo Horon (MS)	240	240	0 2	0
91.	Mezad	55	115	0	0
92.	Migdalim (N)	20	20	0	0
93.	Migdal 'Oz (K)	135	285	0	0
94.	Mikhmas (C)	140	170	0	0
95.	Mishor Adummim (RC)	115	235	0	0
96.	Mishor Adummim	0	0	0	0
	Industrial Center	(I)	V	U	0
97.	Mizpe Deragot (RS)	25	55	0	0
98.	Mizpe Shalem (K)	85	285	26	0
99.	Mizpe Yeriho (C)	185	320	0	0
100.	Moshe Zar's Mansion	0	10	0	0
101.	Mul Nevo (N)	40	65	0	0
102.	Na'ale (C)	195	210	0	0
103.	Na'ama (M)	90	150	5	0
104.	Nablus Yeshiva (Y)	5	10	0	15
105.	Nahli'el	40	40	0	0
106.	Negohot (N)	20	35	2	0
107.	Ne ot Adummim (C)	40	40	7	0
108.	Netafim (C)	110	150	ó	0
109.	Netiv HaGedud (M)	160	245	0	0
110.	Niran (K)	245	370	26	0
111.	Niriyya	0	0	0	0
112.	Nofim (C)	Ö	145	0	0
113.	North Dead Sea	Ö	0	0	5
	Solar Ponds (I)	-	v	U	0
114.	'Ofarim (C)	0	0	0	0
115.	'Ofra (C)	570	835	0	0
116.	'Omarim (C)	35	35	0	0 0
			33	U	U
117.	Oranit (C)	0	430	10	61
118.	'Otni'el (C)	45	95	0	0
119.	Pedu'el	65	170	9	0
120.	Pelas (N)	35	45	Ó	0
121.	Pesagot (RC)	220	270	ő	0
122.	Peza'el (M)	235	350	0	0
123.	Qadim	35	90	3	13
124.	Qalya (K)	245	400	22	0
125.	Qarne Shomeron (U)	630	1,035	26	16
			•		10

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	lements and r Civilian		New Units Since September 1984		
	Use (Type ^a)	Population	Capacity	Completed	Still Under Construction
126.	Qarne Shomeron Industrial Site	0 (I)	0	0	0
127.	Qarne Zur (M)	25	110	0	0
128.	• •	1,080	1,175	3	ì
129.	-	85	85	0	0
130.	Qiryat Arba' (U)	3,565	4,455	0	Ö
131.	Ramat Modi'in	0	0	0	Ö
132.	Rehan (MS)	50	150	0	ŏ
133.	Rimmonim (C)	140	245	0	Ö
134.	Ro'i (M)	115	210	0	Ŏ
135.	Rosh Zurim (K)	210	440	0	0
136.	Rotem (N)	20	40	0	0
137.	Sal'it (M)	175	215	0	0
138.	Sa Nur	35	165	0	0
139.		90	405	7	12
140.	Shadmot Mehola (MS		210	7	0
141.	Shaqed (C)	170	170	0	0
142.	Shave Shomeron (C)		475	0	
	Shilat (M)	200	315	0	0 2 7
144.	Shillo (C)	475	580	6	7
145.	Susya (M)	85	145	6	0
146.	Telem	40	95	6	0
147.	Tel Hayim	40	120	5	0
148.	Teqo'a (M)	240	320	0	3
149.	Tomer (M)	190	270	0	0
150.	Vered Yeriho (C)	170	210	0	0
151.	Yabboq (N)	20	25	0	0
152.	Yafit (M)	120	165	0	0
153.	Yaqqir (C)	215	215	0	0
154.	Yitav (K)	150	150	0	0
155.	Yizhar	20	110	0	0
156.	Yo'ezer (C)	95	130	6	0
157.	Zamarot (C)	0	0	0	0
158.	Zofim	0	0	0	0
159. 160.	Zohar (N)	30	30	0	0
161.	Zoref (N)	20	45	0	0
162.	Zori (N)	30	35	0	0
	Site, NE of Ari'el	0	0	0	0
163. 164.	Site, SE of Elgana		0	0	0
165.	Site, W of Elgana	0	0	0	0
	Site, S of Hermesh		0	0	0
166.	Site, adjacent to Kefar Rut	0	40	0	0
167.	Site, NW of Kefar Tappuah	0	0	0	0
168.	Site, W of Mevo	0	0	0	0
169.	Site, NW of Sal'it	0	0	0	3
				25>	

<u>11</u>

Figure 1 Newly Started and Newly Settled Living Units in the West Bank, September 1982—August 1985



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